DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 216 833 RC 013 393

AUTHOR Eisen, George
TITLE Native American Games & European Religious Attitudes in the 16th & 17th Centuries.
PUB DATE 21 Apr 81
NOTE 26p.; Paper presented at the Annual Conference on Minority Studies (9th, Las Cruces, New Mexico, April 21, 1981). Supporting bibliography of 41 sources.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Culture; *American Indians; Cheating; Codes of Ethics; Colonial History (United States); Comparative Analysis; Cultural Images; Football; *Games; Justice; Lacrosse; Physical Characteristics; Puritans; *Racial Attitudes; *Religious Cultural Groups; Time
IDENTIFIERS *American Indian History; *Gambling; Jesuits; Noble Savage Concept; Quakers; Work Ethic

ABSTRACT

Some aspects of the white-Indian relationship are reflected in the writings of 16th and 17th century observers of Indian pastimes. The Noble Savage image was apparently accepted by French colonists as a consequence of an intellectual disappointment in the contemporary societies. In an age of absolutism and religious intolerance, the picture of the Indian as a carefree and independent specimen spending much of his time gambling, playing lacrosse, and feasting was to serve as a symbolic example for the disillusioned. The Puritan philosophy of the English excluded the notion of the Native as a guiding example for a better earthly society, since for them, earthly existence served merely to obtain the world to come and the Indians' sporting activities were a "waste of time ... the deadliest of sins." The early Quakers, though disapproving "all excesses in luxury, pleasure, and wanton pastimes" nevertheless had good relations with the Indians, regarding them as children of God deserving respect. Major criticism among all the early observers was aimed at the Indians' excessive gambling and betting, but all the colonists commented on how scrupulously fair the Indians were in their gaming activities. A list of early authors is included. (LC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED216833

NATIVE AMERICAN GAMES & EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES IN THE 16TH & 17TH CENTURIES

by

George Eisen
California State Polytechnic University Pomona

FEB 1982
RECEIVED
ERIC/CRESS

ABSTRACT

This paper is intended to serve as a step toward a renewed effort to rediscover the earliest historical sources of Indian games and sport activities as well as the attitudes of the chroniclers toward these diversions. The scope of this study, therefore, is limited to a selection of early works, memoirs and journals of voyageurs, colonial officials and missionaries dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these writings remained in manuscript form for centuries and were not previously presented in sport-historical studies.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Dr. George Eisen
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Encounters between the early travelers and the Natives of North America, sporadic as they were, formed the first impressions concerning the customs and manners of the Indians. Their depictions, often misconstrued, were scanty and sketchy by nature. For a more complete and detailed picture of Indian life, we have to turn to missionaries and permanent colonization. All European chroniclers of America devoted some efforts to describe Indian customs, manners, and diversions. Opinions nevertheless differed. "I have observed," wrote the Jesuit missionary Paul Le Jeune at Quebec in 1633, "that after seeing two or three Savages do the same thing, it is at once reported to be a custom of the whole Tribe." He further remarked that "there are many tribes in these countries who agree in a number of things and differ in many others; so that when it is said that certain practices are common to

---

Paper presented at the 9th Annual Conference on Minority Studies, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 21 April 1981.

RC 013393

the Savages, it may be true of one tribe and not true of another" (Thwaites 1896-1901:1:27).

The concept of the American Indian as the Noble Savage has prevailed since the earliest times. The notion of the Native as an unspoiled child of nature, on the one hand, and the violent heathen, on the other, was formulated alternately with much truth. Nevertheless, the historical accounts differed mightily according to imported national attitudes and religious beliefs of the observers. Page was correct by asserting that a historian "edges over into distortions, and into condemnation or praise on social, moral, or religious grounds, the measurements of which he has brought with him" (Page 1973:216). Voyageurs, missionaries, administrators, and others were constrained to describe Indians in the terms of their own cultures. Judgments such as those of Lahontan, Wassenaer, de Vries, Penn, and many others have nurtured the concept, reaching its full exaltation by Rousseau, of the Noble Savage. One source wrote: "There is little authority among these nations. They live almost all equally another's" (Lahontan 1703:420). Despite the obvious shortcomings and vices among the Indians, their society was, according to de Vries, morally superior to European society. In comparing the two cultures, he remarked with no hesitation that, "Although they are cruel, and live without any punishment of evil doers, there is not one-fourth as much rougery and murder among them as there is among Christians" (de Vries 1655:155).

The moral rationalization and philosophical justification of Indian life, perhaps exceed the scope of this study. Nevertheless, the question naturally arises, how did the early sources relate to and formulate opinion about the sporting diversions, games, and gambling of the Natives?

And what was the role of their descriptions in creating this curious image of the Indian as the Noble Savage?

The early narratives were unanimous in their opinion about the physical characteristics of the Indian. What emerges from the contemporary accounts is clearly flattering to the Indian. The first English work relating to New England, (1602), Brereton's Relation, characterized the Natives of the area as (of) "tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a blacke swart complexion" (Brereton 1930:330). The Hurons were similarly praised: (they) "are of a Sanguine Constitution," and without any bodily deformity (Lahonton 1703:515). Louis Hennepin, a Recollect Father, could not refrain from drawing a brief comparison between the Natives and the Europeans, undoubtedly to the favor of the former. "The Indians are very robust; men, women and even children are extremely vigorous, . . they excape maladies which beset most of our Europeans for want of exercise" (Hennepin 1880:280-281). The perplexed observer of the New Netherland did not omit to note that, "It is somewhat strange that among these most barbarous people, there are few or none cross-eyed, blind, crippled, lame, hunchbacked, or limping men; all are well fashioned people, strong and sound - body, well fed, without blemish" (van Vassenaer 1909:72; Van der Douck 1968:72; Thwaites 1896-1901:3:74). If the Indians' appearance gave any hint as to their mental or spiritual qualities, the French observers were elated at what they saw. The Indians appeared not only more pleasing to the eye than Europeans, but also healthier. Lahontan, for example, could say that "They are neither strong nor so vigorous as most of the French are in raising of Weights with their Arms, or carrying of Burden on their Backs; but to make Amends for that, they are indefatigable and inured to

Hardship . . . their whole Time being spent in the Way of Exercise, whether in running up and down at Hunting and fishing, or in Dancing and playing at Foot-ball, or such Games as require the Motion of the Legs" (Lahontan 1703:415-416).

As part of the European view of Indian customs and habits, an interesting reaction to the mode and manner of their sport participation has unfolded through the first centuries. A difference between the European and American style of sporting was readily emphasized by all observers. Sports and games were vigorous and violent affairs among the Indians as well as among the English. Nevertheless, English sports, not yet pervaded by the concept of fair play, were often rough and tumble pastimes in which a wide range of activities bordering on foul play were permitted. Contests of the Indians were conducted in an atmosphere of correctness and mutual respect. Cheating was almost unknown among them. One may compare the contemporary English and French sporting scene with the observation of Father Lalemant. In witnessing a Huron feast, the Jesuit wrote that, "everything was done with such moderation and reserve that --at least, in watching them-- one could never have thought that he was in the midst of an assemblage of Barbarians, --so much respect did they pay to one another, even while contending for the victory" (Thwaites 1896-1901:23:221-223). For English spectators, the Indian football was perhaps the most familiar pursuit. The chroniclers repeatedly noted the fact that the English style of the game was violent and sometimes unfair. Spelman's, Strachey's, and Williams' testimonies clearly indicated this fact. Henry Spelman, a member of Captain Smith's expedition to Powhaton's country wrote that the Indians "never fight nor pull one another doune"

(Spelman 1872:114). Strachey, the first Secretary of Virginia, also presented a curious comparison between the American and European codes of conduct in the course of the game: "they never strike up one another's heeles, as we do, not accompting that praiseworthie to purchase a goale by such an advantage" (Strachey 1849:84). In 1686, Dunton observed a football game in Agawam. He, too, elaborated on the difference: "Neither were they to apt to trip one anothers heels and quarrel, as I have seen 'em in England" (Dunton 1966:285). A contemporary of Strachey, William Wood, made valuable observations on football as played by the Indians of Massachusetts. His work, New Englands Prospect, is an account of Indian life as the author saw it between 1629 and 1633. "Before they come to this sport, [football]," wrote the observant Puritan, "they paint themselves, even as when they goe to warre, in pollicie to prevent future mischiefe, because no man should know him that moved his patience or accidentally hurt his person, taking away the occasion of studying revenge" (Wood 1865:96). Wood's last statement betrays perhaps his superficial knowledge of Indian customs. The painting of the face and body had religious significance in Indian culture. Indian football, vigorous as it may be, was much more moderate than that of the English. If we are to believe other chroniclers, taking revenge for an injury sustained in the course of a sporting pursuit was almost unknown among the Natives. Reverend Roger Williams, who established the colony of Providence, Rhode Island, made some references to football in this vein. He insightfully noted tha, in the course of the game, "they have great stakings, but seldome quarrell" (Williams 1973:230). Even in the most violent affairs such as the game of lacrosse, a semblance of sportsmanlike conduct can be detected. Lahontan perhaps did not exaggerate in stating that "In fine this Game is so violent that they tear their Skins, and

break their Legs very often in striving to raise the Ball" (Lahontan 1703: 432-433). Some notion of fair play, nevertheless, must have existed, since injuries received in the course of the game were normally attributed to unlucky circumstances rather than to vengeful behavior. This notion of fair play was further exemplified by the fact that any outside interference was traditionally deplored. Perrot, whose description of lacrosse was perhaps the most detailed among seventeenth century works, explained this state of affairs. "However, if any person who does not belong to the party, or who has not made any bet, should drive the ball to the advantage of one of the two parties, one of the players whom the blow does not favor would attack this man, demanding of him whether this were any of his business, and why he was meddling in it" (Perrot 1911:96). It is conceivable that in the excitement of the contest some hot-headed spectators lost control over their emotions so that encounters such as that described above often resulted in blows. Nevertheless, these incidents were resolved amicably, and the teams began the games anew. An interesting observation of Wood is perhaps the most significant, for it pointed out some of the intricacies of football. "It is most delight to see them play, in smalle companies, when men may view their swift footemanship, their curious tossings of their Ball, their flouncing into the water, their lubberlike wrestling, having no cunning at all in that kind, one English being able to beate ten Indians at footeball" (Wood 1865:96). The last statement of the author is not merely an extravagant boast since other sources confirm the fact that the nature of contemporary English football was much more violent than was the Indian game.

As for their games of chance, Nicolas Perrot emphatically stated

that the Hurons cheated very often in their playing the game of straws. At the same time, the cheater was shunned by the community. But then, many of the Jesuits remembered also to point out that the Hurons were given frequently to thievery (Thwaites 1896-1901 10:144; 22:140). With all fairness to the Indian, no other early authorities recorded cheating as a feature of Indian sports and games.

We have to contend with variety of opinions in European thought about the sporting diversions and gaming among the Indians. The earliest substantial reports about the subject were provided by Catholic and Protestant clergymen. The difference in their attitudes was sharply illustrated by contrasting approaches toward Indian culture in general. "The Catholic imperative for converting and including the heathen," Jennings noted, "compelled Catholics to learn something about them in order to do the holy work effectively, while the Protestant principle of elitism worked out in practice to exclusionism and indifference" (Jennings 1975: 57; Kennedy 1950:109). Of course, among these two major religious philosophies, one may have to contend with differing opinions of Jesuits, Recollects, Puritans, Quakers, and others. While the Jesuit and Franciscan descriptions of Indian diversions derived from their residence and life among the Natives, the Puritans were limited to occasional visits to neighboring tribes, and recorded their customs (Adams 1921:345). The Puritan's sense of mission, coupled with an assumed holiness, prevented his descent to the level of the Indian. This moral bigotry inevitably precluded the cultural relativism which was the cornerstone of the Jesuit and Franciscan approaches to the Indians.

The French Jesuits and the Recollects adopted a policy of trans-

forming Indian life from within, adapting "themselves and their morality to local customs in order to establish the broadest rapport with the Indians" (Kennedy 1950:60). Kammen correctly stated that "cassocked conquistadors tended to permit the heathens great latitude in the sphere of natural conduct" (Kammen 1973:105). The missionaries' deep excursions into Huron country, the Mississippi Valley, and Louisiana provided them valuable experience concerning native customs. Their writing often reflected a jocular acceptance of Indian habits and customs; "men are men everywhere" Jerome Lallemant observed, "this new world has the same nature as the old; it has its virtues and vices just like Europe" (Thwaites 1896-1901:31:190; 32:252). Father Membre's factual narrative did not reveal the slightest disapproval of Indian diversions. He simply noted, "They are, besides, much given to play, like all the Indians in America, that I am able to know" (Membre 1852:151). Sagard, another Recollect Father, did not forget to record, in the same vein, that the Hurons passed their time, "in idleness, gambling, sleeping, singing, dancing, smoking or going to feasts" (Sagard 1939:96). Elsewhere, it was noted of the inhabitants of Louisiana; they were "very lazy by nature, a much longer time lying down than standing" (Relation de la Louisianne 1918:66). There is not a trace of reproach from the friars. This tolerance and understanding went so far as to discard superstitutions, associated with games and gambling as mere "fooleries" and nothing more. In 1637, Le Mercier, with some consternation, wrote that "this hunchback [the sorcerer] declared that the whole country was sick and had prescribed a remedy, namely, a game of crosse, for its recovery" (Thwaites 1896-1901:13:131). The criticims of the Father was obviously directed toward the superstitious use of lacrosse. The other objection voiced by the Jesuits was the disproportionate time

devoted to sport activities and games. Le Jeune, more resignedly than deploringly, noted that "We gave the Instruction or Catechism in our cabin, for we had as yet no other suitable Church. This often the most we can do: for their feasts, dances, and games so occupy them that we cannot get them together as we would like"(Thwaites 1896-1901:8:143; 10:15).

It would perhaps be unfair and misleading to assert that Puritans opposed every form of sporting pursuits and diversions among themselves and among their neighbors, the Indians. It seems that an evolutionary development did take place toward the acceptance of amusements and diversions, particularly in the second and successive generations of Puritans. Nothing can illustrate this more eloquently than the comments of a Dutch visitor. Jasper Danckaerts noted in 1679 that "you discover little difference between this and other places. [Boston] Drinking and fighting occur there not less than elsewhere; and as to the truth and true godliness, you must not expect more of them than of others" (Danckaerts 1913:274; Miller 1963:410). Struna suggested, "Those who attempted to dictate the acceptable values of sport probably did not fear that men would sport, but rather certain occasions for sport and the aftermath of some of these" (Struna 1976:10). This opinion was illustrated well by Bradford in his History of the Plymouth Plantation. On Christmas day, some members of the colony engaged in "pitching the barr and some at stoole-ball, and such like sports." The governor prohibited the participants of "gameing and revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been atempted that way, at least openly" (Bradford 1908:127). This official attitude was pertinent to Indian recreation as well. The Bay-colonists did not deplore Indian sporting diversions per se, but rather

for the precious time which was spent on "gaming and lazing" The concept of time had a special meaning in the Puritan ethic. Or, as Max Weber said, "Waste of time thus the first and in principle the deadliest of sins" (Weber 1958:157). The relationships among time, play and sport are yet to be explored in depth within the Puritan ethic. Oberholzer said that "The Puritan attitude towards amusements and recreation was closely related to their view of the proper use of time" (Oberholzer 1956: 279). Official exhortations to the colonist about "mispend that pretjous tyme" were all too frequent to be ignored. Increase Mather emphasized that time is a gift of God and its misuse will precipitate a divine retribution. Williams' lament for time was reminiscent of the above. "How many vaine inventions and foolish pastimes have the sonnes of men in all parts of the world found out," Williams mused over Indian sporting diversions and time, "to pass time & post over this short minute of life" ((Williams 1973:231). The Indians' violation of the Puritan work-ethic was undoubtedly also offensive to the New Englanders. Natives who "rather starve than work, following no employements," induced Wood to advise giving up the life of "more pleasures and profit than paines or care" (Wood 1865:88). He piously proclaimed his hope that "good example, and good instructions may bring them to a more industrious and provident course of life." The fact that the Indians were happy and content in their present state apparently could not filter through the thick curtain of moral bigotry. Whereas the ministers in New England were concerned genuinely with gambling as resulting in financial disaster among the colonists, they did not neglect the spiritual effects of gaming. Weber's comment that "Impulsive enjoyment of life, which leads away both from work in a calling and from religion, was as

such the enemy of rational ascetism," well documents the Puritan aversion to the "irrational gambling instinct" (Weber 1958:167). The majority of the Puritan sources about Indian customs, it is important to note, represented the ecclesiastical and official position of the Colony. Therefore, one should be cautiously aware of a contradiction between actual practice and religious prescriptions. Gambling among the settlers, as Struna found, "was more popular and widespread than the General Court would have liked to have believed" (Struna 1976:13). The recognition of this state of affairs among those concerned with Indians propelled the notion that the white man's experience, in many respects, was to be the cautionary example for the Indians. The Eternal Judgment was to be the lot of both English and Indian. "This life is a short minute," warned Williams, and "eternitie followes." "Our English Gamesters scorne to stake Their clothes as Indians do, Nor yet themselves, alas, yet both Stake soules and lose them to" (Williams 1973:23). It is evident that these English colonizers never adopted the conception of the Noble Savage.

Some note of reference should be made as to the opinions of other Protestant observers. The Dutch in New Netherland, at least through the first period of colonization, made no concerted effort to study the culture of Indians in depth, much less to convert them. This ecclesiastical neglect can perhaps be attributed to the sad state prevailing within the Dutch Reformed Church of New Netherland. Kiliaen van Rensselaer had to confess that matters were "in such state, that hardly any semblance of godliness and righteouness" remained (Rensselaer 1908:686-688; 694-695). De Rasieres visited New Plymouth in 1627. He noted that stringent laws and

ordinances to censure the spread of immorality were enforced even among the neighboring Indian tribes (De Rasieres 1909:112). In contrast, the most prevalent crimes among the Dutch were dishonesty, licentiousness, and drunkenness. The spread of liquor and wine among the Natives, thus, was blamed also on the Dutch merchants of New Netherland. Nevertheless, Van der Donck did take considerable pain to picture the Natives for the Dutch public. His observations, perhaps characteristic to other authorities as well, was that "They are all free by nature, and will not bear any domineering or lording over them; they will not bear any insult, unless they have done wrong, and they will bear chastisement without resentment" (Van der Donck 1968:94). Of course, he could not fail to notice also that "to heavy slavish labour the men have a particular aversion, and they manage their affairs accordingly, so that they need not labour much" (Van der Donck 1968:72). His comments were rather praising than chastising, for the Dutch settlers believed in the principle of "live and let live," benefiting both races.

Early Quakers, often a persecuted minority themselves, disproved all excesses in luxury, pleasure, and wanton pastimes. In The Frame of the Government of Pennsilvania, William Penn decreed that "All Prizes, Stage-plays, Cards, Dice, May-games, Gamesters, Masques, Revels, Bull-baitings, Cock-fightings, Bear-baitings and the like, which excite the People to Rudeness, Cruelty, Looseness and Irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punished" (Penn 1682:11). The Protestant concern with the proper use of time, here again, prevailed. Penn's opinion that idleness and preoccupation with useless pastimes would promote misuse of time and immorality among the Friends well within the framework of the Protestant ethics: "We are commanded to Redeem the Time, because the Days

are Evil; but these People Gamesters chuse rather to Lose their Time, and fall into the Evil, they should avoid" (Penn 1726:1:729). The question of whether the Quakers scorned gambling and other diversions among the Indians, concluding from the official aversion to gaming in general, can not be answered, since no contemporary Quaker records dealt with the issue. It is true, however, that Quakers did not impose their strict moral and religious convictions upon non-Quakers in general, and much less upon the neighboring Indians. Early Friends might often seem the extremists of the Puritan movement, yet the most striking aspect of their life in the seventeenth century was their good relations with the Indians. They regarded the Natives as children of God deserving respect (Bacon 1969:47). William Penn was instrumental in establishing harmonious ties between the two races. Whenever the opportunity arose, he participated in the Indians' games of skill. The prominent statesman saw the Indians as the "most merry Creatures that live, Feast and Dance almost perpetually; they never have much, nor want much." "We sweat and toil to live," Penn pondered, "their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their Hunting, Fishing and Fowling" (Penn 1683:6).

Major criticism of early authorities was invariably aimed at the vice of gambling. But, here again, the French limited their disapproval to the excesses in gaming. De Brebeuf, whose narrative was liberally spiced with humorous comments on Indian customs, philosophically exhorted that "Gambling never leads to anything good; in fact, the Savages themselves remark that it is almost the sole cause of assaults and murders" (Thwaites 1896-1901:10:81). One of the Pilgrim Fathers, Edward Winslow, in visiting the Massassoit chief indeed witnessed a gambling related murder. "It

happened that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs, yea their wives' skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as myself have seen,) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other" (Winslow 1841:307-308). On another occasion, the Natives played some games in the presence of Winslow and his companion Stephen Hopkins. The Pilgrims, apparently had not yet learned to consider games for prizes as sinful, for the two ambassadors offered to shoot with them at a mark for skins. This offer was politely declined, but the two English were requested to demonstrate their shooting ability without wager (Winslow 1841:46). In fact, Puritans condemned every form of this "unlawful" recreation. Wood's thundering oration taught about the harmful and evil consequences of gambling to body as well as soul: "This Pompey can endure no equall, till one dayes adverse lotterie at their game (called Puimme) metamorphize him into a Codrus, robbing him of his conceited wealth, leaving him in minde and riches equall with his naked attendants" (Wood 1865:74).

In games of football, lacrosse, and chance, or other contests, the Indians bet high and heavily. Thus Gookin, whose colonial adventures brought him into contact with the Natives of Virginia as well as of New England, could succinctly observe that "They are addicted to gaming; and will in that vein, play away all they have" (Gookin 1792:153). Nothing so completely revealed the ardor of gaming during this diversion as the perceptive remarks of Isaack de Rasieres: "and they win from each other all that they possess, even to the lappet with which they cover their private parts, and so they cover their private parts, and so they separate from each other quite naked" (De Rasieres 1909:116). The stake encompassed

all the possessions one may have had, including sexual favors or personal liberty. Lescarbot's testimony grimly illustrated the passion of gambling among the Iroquois: "they stake all that they have, even to their wives" (Lescarbot 1907:3:197). As for the attitudes of the wives, he humorously added: "True it is as to women lost at play that to hand them over is full hard, for often they make mock of the gambler and point the finger of scorn at him." The Jesuit Father Lalemant often pondered on fervent gambling which "is strong in our France, as well as in yours. I have seen a Savage woman who, having lost all she had, staked herself, --not her honor, but indeed her services,-- that is to say, she would have been as a slave or servant of the winner, if she had lost" (Thwaites 1896-1901: 16:199-201). He further added, softening his harsh judgment, that the "Savages cannot exercise severity, nor harshly exact a service from their Countrymen." Lawson's opinion did not differ substantially from the above: "I have known several of them play themselves away, so that they have remain'd the winners Servants, till their Relations or themselves could pay the Money to redeem them" (Lawson 1967:178).

The main criticism of the Jesuits, thus, was directed toward the social implications of the reckless gaming among the Natives. The Puritans, on the contrary, were more concerned with spiritual harm and the "Eternal Damnation" resulting from this vice. Nothing could be more enlightening illustration for that point of view than Williams' lamentations: "I have often told them in their gamings, and in their great losings (when they have staked and lost their money, clothes, house, corne, and themselves, if single persons) they will confesse it, being weary of their lives, and ready to make away themselves, like many an English man: an Embleme of the horrour of conscience, which all poore sinners walk in at last, when they

see what wofull games they have played in their life, and now find themselves eternall Beggars' (Williams 1973:230). The minister, a frequent guest of the Narragensetts, was decently shocked, and refused to attend their gambling sections, "that I might not countenance and partake of their folly, after once I saw the evill of them" (Williams 1973:229). In New England, the clash of the two diverse cultures was particularly forceful. A cursory comment of a minister about converted Indians shed some light on the problem of gambling. "One great case that hath come severall times to mee, is about such debts as they owe by gaming, for they have been great gamesters, but have moved questions about it, and are informed of the unlawfulnesse of it, and have there upon wholly given over gaming for any wagers, and all games wherein is a lot, onely use lawfull recreations, and have a Law against unlawfull gaming; but other Indians that are of another mind, come and challenge their old debts, and now they refuse to pay, because it was a sinne so to game" (Shepard 1648: 27-28). The sincerity of these new converts, of course, may raise some questions. The good minister, nevertheless, appealed to the creditors and succeeded to reduce the debt of the pious ones by half. Sometimes even a Puritan had to compromise.

It is interesting to examine the opinions of the Indians themselves about their gambling habits. Le Clercq wrote that the Indians "are very faithful in paying whatever they have lost at the game, without quarrelling or expressing the least word of impatience." Following his inquiry about the calm acceptance of the outcome of the game, he was reassured that "they play only for diversion, and to enjoy themselves with their friends" (Le Clercq 1968:294-295). Often the material gain itself, strange concept to European mind, was of secondary value for the Indian. "They wager a new

gun against an old one which is not worth anything, as readily as if it were good, and they give as a reason that if they are going to win they will win as well against a bad article as against an old one which is not worth anything, as readily as if it were good, and they give as a reason that if they are going to win they will win as well against a bad article as against a good one, and that they would rather bet against something than not bet at all" (Relation de la Louisianne 1918:65; Sagard 1939:97).

The fact that the participants enjoyed gambling, whether losing or winning, was perhaps the most astounding discovery for the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. The Puritans did not consider any form of gambling a virtue. The general concensus was that the Indians accepted the outcome with stoic calm. Du Ru studied the Natives with a particular interest in their character. His observations of the Chitimacha Indians were perhaps unique, since these gamblers were masters of their emotions even in the course of the most heated gamblings. "It is astonishing how calmly they gamble. Apparently winning or losing is alike to them. I have enjoyed watching them to notice how impossible it would be to judge the course of the play by their expression, particularly in the games that call for little movement" (Du Ru 1934:52). This was a deviation from the customary notion of European gambling. Lalemant's perceptive remark epitomized this difference between the two civilizations: "Savages, although passionately fond of gambling, show themselves superior to our Europeans. They hardly ever evince either joy in winning or sadness in losing, playing with most remarkable external tranquility" (Thwaites 1896-1901:16:201).

EPILOGUE

The perception of Indian sporting diversions by white society constitute, naturally, only a part of a larger issue of human relationship between the two civilizations. Differences of opinions, of course, existed along national lines, such as French, English, etc. The true difference in attitudes, however, is more distinguishable by contrasting perceptions of Indian life among various religious groups. The two extremes in evaluating Native culture can be attributed to the Catholic and Puritan philosophies. Discussing only these two is certainly not representative of Indian-settler relations as a whole. Nevertheless, these ethical trends made the strongest impact on Indian life. The answer to the question as to the degree of the impact of white mores and attitudes upon the Indians is, at best, ambiguous. Insofar as the author can perceive, the influence was mutual. Jesuit scholasticism attempted to reach a realistic picture of Indian culture, as far as possible, emphasizing that their recorded experience is really confined to the really confined to the respective tribes visited. "Ordinarily, the secular concerns of the priests," Kennedy aptly noted, "did not conflict with their spiritual interests; they remained subordinate" (Kennedy 1950:91). Puritans, on the other hand, tended to over-generalize Indian mores and attitudes. The Indian's culture was, in the eyes of the Puritan settlers, inferior in every respect to that of the chosen people, the Puritans. This total rejection of Native culture resulted in a misconstrued and distorted perception of the Indian. In order to understand the native civilization, both Jesuits and Franciscans, for example, examined and experimented with various aspects of Savage life. It was especially true for Indian medicine. In contrast, New England's Puritan

missionaries had so "closed their minds that after nearly three decades at their task they knew nothing of Indian medicine" (Jennings 1975:57; Kennedy 1950:93).

Attitudes prevailing among the two religious philosophies toward Indian pastimes were similar in every respect to their approaches toward Indian culture. The white settlers of New France adopted many local customs related to sporting diversions. Lacrosse, naturally, is the most familiar sport activity embraced by Canadians. As the missionaries and fur-traders roamed over New France, they borrowed many practices from the Indians. The use of canoes, toboggans, sledges, snow-shoes, etc. can be listed as such. The settlers also participated in the "gambling games in which Indians delighted, as well as wrestling, and running, and other games" (Howell 1968: 17-22). One should perhaps add to this list the beneficial custom of sweat-bathing which was readily embraced by the French (Denys 1908:416-417). The Puritan was not particularly interested in Indian customs, and much less in their wanton pastimes. Although there were some instances when Puritan Fathers readily admitted an Indian superiority in some skills--such as their swimming style--over that of the English, they chose not to adopt them anyway. Perhaps New Englanders were present at some occasions in Indian sports as spectators, but in the main these pastimes were ignored or rejected by the Pilgrims. It is unfortunate that Puritan observers of the seventeenth century had little or no flair for anthropology. Their brief accounts are indeed meager and pale in comparison with the rich ethnographic notes of the Jesuit and Recollect Fathers.

As a concluding thought, the author should perhaps express the obvious importance of studying Indian pastimes. This study can be done by reviewing the opinions and views of early colonial observers. It enables

the scholar as well as the interested reader to rationalize a cultural heritage left by both the white settlers and the Indians. As early as 1708, Oldmixon already wrote that Indians were "given to all manner of American Sports and Gaming" (Oldmixon 1741:1:278). The native Americans, it ought not to be overlooked, played their part in shaping the new society in the new continent. This study, partly descriptive and partly analytical, intended to examine some aspects of white-Indian relationship through Indian pastimes as reflected in the opinions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries observers. The issue as to whether the acclaimed image of the Noble Savage has its roots in reality bears only secondary importance. This image, it seems, was accepted by the French as a consequence of an intellectual disappointment in the contemporary societies. In an age of absolutism and religious intolerance, the picture of the Indian as a carefree and independent specimen, living in Eldorado, was to serve as a symbolic example for the disillusioned. Puritan philosophy excluded the notion of the Native as a guiding example for a better earthly society, since for them earthly existence served merely to obtain the world to come. Nevertheless, their attitudes toward Indian culture and recreation, biased as it was, indicated their general attitude toward man, god, and society.

A LIST OF EARLY AUTHORS

Adair, James	1709-1783	Harriot, Thomas	1560-1621
Alsop, George	1638-?	Hennepin, Louis	17th C.
Bartram, Wm	1739-1823	Henry, Alexander	1739-1824
Benzoni, Giralamo	1519-?	Holm, Thomas Cam.	17th C.
Beverley, Robert	1673-1722	Hutchinson, Thomas	1711-1780
Bossu, Jean-B	1720-1792	Jones, Hugh	1669-1760
Bradford, Wm	1588-1657	Josselyn, John	1630-1675
Brereton, John	fl. 1603	Joutel, Henri	1640-1735
Byrd, Wm II	1674-1744	Las Casas, Bart.	1474-1566
Cabeza de Vaca	16th C.	Lahontan de, B.	1666-1715
Cartier, Jacques	1491-1557	Laudonniére, R.	16th C.
Carver, Jonathan	1710-1780	Lawson, John	?-1712
Charlevoix de, P.	1682-1761	Le Clercq, C.	1641-1695
Denton, Daniel	?-1696	Lederer, John	fl. 1669
Denys, Nicolas	1598-1688	Lescarbot, Marc	1570-?
Diereville de, S.	17th C.	Levett, Ch.	fl. 1623
Ponck van der, A.	?-1655	Lindeström, Peter	1632-1691
Dunton, John	1659-1733	Long, John	?-1782
Du Creux, Francois	1596-1666	Mather, Increase	
Du Ru, Paul	1666-1741	Membré, Zenobius	1645-1687
Filson, John	1753-1788	Morton, Thomas	1575-1646
Garcilasco, V.	1539-1616	Motolinia, Toribio	?-1568
Gookin, Daniel	1612-1687	Ogilby, John	1600-1676
Gyles, John	1678-1755	Oldmixon, John	1673-1742

Penn, Wm	1644-1718
Perrot, Nicolas	1644-?
Potherie Bac.	1668-?
Radisson, Pierre	1620-1710
Rasieres de, Isaack	17th C.
Ribaut, Jean	1520-1565
Rogers, Robert	1731-1795
Romans, Bernard	1720-1784
Rosier, James	1575-1635
Sagard, Gabriel	17th C.
Sahagun, de F.B.	?-1590
Shepard, Thomas	1605-1649
Smith, John	1580-1631
Spelman, Henry	1595-1623
Strachey, Wm	1572-1621
Tonty de, Henri	?-1704
Venegas, Miguel	1680-1764
Vries de, D. P.	1593-1655
Wafer, Lionel	1660-1705
Wassenaer, Nicolas	17th C.
White, Andrew	1579-1656
White, John	fl. 1593
Williams, Roger	1604-1683
Winslow, Edward	1595-1655
Wolley, Charles	fl. 1690
Wood, Wm	fl. 1630

ADDITIONAL SOURCES CONSULTED

Abbot, Charles G. ed. The North American Indians. New York: Smithsonian Institution Series, 1938.

Alsop, George. A Character of the Province of Mary-Land. London: Printed by T. J. for Peter Dring, 1666.

Bartram, William. Travels. edited by Francis Harper New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.

Benzoni, Girolamo. History of the New World. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1857.

Bossu, Jean-Bernard. Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762. translated by Seymour Feiler Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Burrage, Henry S. ed. Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

Carver, Jonathan. Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. Minneapolis: Ross & Haines Inc., 1956.

Cheska, Alyce. "Ball Game Pariticipation of North American Indian Women." Proceedings from the Third Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1974.

Davis, McFarland Andrew. "Indian Games." Bulletin of the Essex Institute. 17 (1885):89-144.

Denton, Daniel. A Brief Description of New York. London: Printed for John Hancock, 1670.

Description of New Netherland, 1671. in E. B. O'Callaghan, The Documentary History of the State of New York. Albany: Charles van Benthuysen, 1851.

Field, Thomas W. Indian Bibliography. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1853.

Gallatin, Albert. A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes. New York: AMS Press, 1973.

Glassford, R. G. "The Mesoamerican Rubber Ball Games." Proceedings of the First International Seminar on the History of Physical Education and Sport. Wingate Institute, Israel, 1968.

Goodwin, John A. The Pilgrim Republic. Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1888.

Gyles, John. Memoirs of Odd Adventures. Boston: Printed for William Dodge, 1736.

Harriot, Thomas. A Briefe And True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia. London: Johann Wechel, 1590.

Hutchinson, Thomas. The History of the Massachusetts-Bay. edited by Lawrence Shaw Mayo. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Jacobs, Wilbur R. Dispossessing the American Indian. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

Johnson, Allen. ed. Dictionary of American Biography. 12 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1964.

Jones, Hugh. The Present State of Virginia. London: Printed for J. Clarke, 1724.

Las Casas, de Bartolomé. Historia de las Indias. Madrid: Neuva Bibliotheca de Autores Espanoles, 1909.

Lawrence, Henry W. The Not-Quite Puritans. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1928.

Letters of Samuel Lee and Samuel Sewall. edited by L. Kittredge. Cambridge: University Press, 1912.

Long, John. Voyages and Travels. London: Printed for the author, 1791.

Motolinia, Toribio. History of the Indians of New Spain. translated by Elizabeth Andros Foster. Berkeley, Cal.: The Cortes Society, 1950.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. The Savages of America. Baltimore: The John Hopkins, 1953.

A Relation or Journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation setled at Plimoth in New England. (perhaps by William Bradford and Edward Winslow) London: Printed for John Bellamie, 1622.

A Relation of Maryland. (perhaps by Andrew White) London: Sold at Master William Peasly Esq., 1635.

Ribaut, Jean. The true discouerie of terra Florrida. edited by H. P. Biggar. English Historical Review. 32 (1917):273-80.

Rogers, Robert. A Concise Account of North America. London: Printed for the Author, 1765.

Rosier, James. A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made This Present Yeere 1605. Londini: Geor. Bishop, 1605.

Sahagún de, F. B. A History of Ancient Mexico, 1547-1577. translated by F. R. Baudelin. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1932.

Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast 1524-1624. New York: Burt Franklin, 1905.

Swanton, John. The Indian Tribes of North America. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bulletin 145, 1952.

_____. The Indians of the Southern United States. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bulletin 135, 1946.

Vaughan, Alden T. New England Frontier Puritans and Indians 1620-1675. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1965.

Venegas, Miguel. A Natural and Civil History of California. 2 vols. London: Printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, 1759.

White, John. Portraits of the Life and Manners of the Inhabitants of that Province in America. New York: J. & H. G. Langley, 1841.

Wright, Louis B. Religion and Empire. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

Zwierlein, Frederick J. Religion in New Netherland 1623-1664. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.